

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

RWANDA RECONSIDERED

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On April 6, 1994, the airplane returning the President of Rwanda home was shot down. After appearing to have achieved a negotiated end to the country's ongoing civil war, the nation was now plunged into an ethnically motivated genocide with horrendous results. What led the extremist elements of the President's ruling elite class to view this alternative as a plausible solution to the loss of power and prestige they would incur with implementation of the peace accords? To answer this question, this thesis examines how Rwanda's two ethnic groups were manipulated to ethnically stratify the country. After independence and a reversal of ethnic control, the new regionally based elites consistently returned to an ethnically divisive strategy to unite the population and maintain their narrow base of power over other regional elites. The onset of civil war in 1990 by exiled Tutsi refugees, coupled with international pressure for democratic reforms ultimately led to the Arusha Accords. The Accords in due course failed both because of extremist fears of the loss of their power and prestige, and the failure of the international community to back the vital provisions of the accords.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Policy)

KEYWORDS: Humanitarian Intervention, State Sovereignty, International Law, Conflict Resolution

EXTENDING U.S. THEATER MISSILE DEFENSE TO NORTHEAST ASIA: RAMIFICATIONS FOR REGIONAL SECURITY

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The absence of a formidable U.S. and allied Theater Missile Defense (TMD) capability in the East Asian region has encouraged a build-up in offensive missile capability on the part of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). This build-up has destabilized a region of vital importance to the national interest of the United States by encouraging the idea that offensive military action can be utilized to attain national ambitions at a relatively acceptable cost. This thesis shows that the introduction of a layered missile defense capability will serve to enhance regional security for the United States and its allies by raising the costs associated with using missiles in an offensive manner and by underscoring the level of commitment the United States maintains in guaranteeing the security of its allies in the face of a growing regional threat. The political benefits associated with such a tangible defensive obligation on the part of the United States should not be underrated.

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Command Control and Communications, Directed Energy Weapons.

KEYWORDS: Theater Missile Defense, TMD, Ballistic Missiles, China, PRC, PLA, DPRK, North Korea, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, Security Alliances.

THE STABILITY PACT FOR SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE – POTENTIAL, PROBLEMS, AND PERSPECTIVE

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As a consequence of the Kosovo War in 1999, the international community, and in particular the European Union, placed greater emphasis on conflict prevention, finally realizing that allowing crises to explode in the Balkans is more costly than taking initiatives for the construction of long-term peace and stability. In the immediate aftermath of the cessation of hostilities, the countries of the region and the international community have committed themselves to making a long-term effort in this direction. The new approach is elaborated in the “Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe,” which resembled the Helsinki Process in that democratization, human rights, economic development, and security are essential constituents of stability.

The thesis analyzes this conceptual political novelty, connecting comprehensively post-war reconstruction, regional cooperation and a long-term perspective of accession to the Euro-Atlantic institutions for the region. The thesis assesses the Pact’s chances for success by focusing on its potential, problems, and perspectives.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Stability Pact, South-Eastern Europe, Balkans, Helsinki Agreement, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Final Act, CSCE, Bosnia, Dayton Agreement, European Union, European Commission, Stabilization and Association Process, Regional Approach, Stability and Association Agreement

ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY IN A POST SOVIET EUROPE

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In 1997 the Czechoslovakian and Hungarian governments entered into a treaty that called for a joint project to build two dams on the Danube river, one in Gabčíkovo, Czechoslovakia and one in Nagymaros, Hungary. The original intent of the project was to provide a system of canals, reservoirs and locks to improve transportation on the river. The Czechoslovakians blocked and diverted the Danube River at Cunovo, Czechoslovakia causing an immediate negative environmental impact. The largest fresh water aquifer in the region lost more than two thirds of its water. The ground water level dropped over 12 feet, contributing to the desertification of the region. The river flow was slowed, and in some areas stopped all together, creating stagnate pools which were breeding grounds for disease. The natural filtration and cleansing capability of the river was harmed, increasing the level of pollution in both the river and aquifer. Continued construction of the dams could have caused lasting negative effects to the ecosystem in the region.

The Hungarians ceased construction in 1989 sighting environmental degradation as its reason for discontinuing their part of the project. The Slovakian government subsequently took the Hungarians to court to resolve the issue.

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Environmental Quality

KEYWORDS: Environmental Impact, Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Dam Project, International Court of Justice, Danube River Basin, Ecosystem, Trans-boundary Conflict

KALININGRAD AND BALTIC SECURITY

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Russia's Kaliningrad Oblast (Region) has a history of being *terra incognita*. In defiance of geographic and historical realities, the Allied leaders of World War II carved the oblast from the northern third of East Prussia and awarded it to Stalin's Soviet Union. As the Soviet empire disintegrated around it, Kaliningrad became lost in the shuffle of a new world order. Its very existence as a Russian exclave within an increasingly interdependent Europe brings the Oblast to the forefront of the Baltic region's future. Kaliningrad plays an important part in the wider pan-European context of regional security and regional stability. Using a traditional state-centric paradigm of definitive interstate borders makes the Kaliningrad riddle impossible to solve. By shifting the paradigm toward regional development and regional cooperation to address common problems, the future security relationship of the Baltic littoral becomes more optimistic.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: International Relations, European Security, Security Dilemma, Regional Security, Baltic Sea Region, Kaliningrad, Russia

OPEN SOURCE ACQUISITION AND ANALYSIS: LEVERAGING THE FUTURE OF INTELLIGENCE AT THE UNITED STATES CENTRAL COMMAND

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There is a vast amount of potentially valuable Open Source Information (OSINF) available to analysts and staff members of the United States Central Command (USCENTCOM). When properly leveraged, this data can contribute to the mission success of the command. The purpose of this thesis is threefold: first, to examine Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) programs within the Intelligence Community, and identify support available to the USCENTCOM OSINT effort; second, to examine the current status of OSINT utilization within the command and identify opportunities for enhancement; third, based on the research conducted make enhancement recommendations to the command across the full spectrum of operations and support.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Intelligence, Open Source, CENTCOM, USCENTCOM, Middle East, Mid East, Central Command, OSINT, OSINF, Information Systems

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

U.S.-IRANIAN RELATIONS: PROSPECTS FOR RAPPROCHEMENT

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For the last two decades, the United States and Iran have fostered a relationship of enmity and distrust. The United States imposes sanctions against the Islamic Republic, in an effort to isolate the regime and limit its ability to finance terrorist activity or to develop nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. Since 1996, however, Iran has undertaken a diplomatic “charm offensive” aimed at opening up to regional rivals and to the international community. It has sent some signals that it seeks to distance itself from terrorism and from antagonistic relations with its neighbors. Its burgeoning relations with Europe has left America alone in its implementation of sanctions, and has put Washington at odds with its European partners.

This thesis looks more closely at the nature of U.S. policy against Iran, examining key issues with regard to its conventional and unconventional security posture, the regional security environment that defines that posture, and the linkage between Iran’s proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and its sponsorship of extremist organizations such as Hizballah. It argues that Iran has legitimate security concerns that drive its current foreign policy. In this context, there may be room for rapprochement with Tehran.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security, Foreign Relations)

KEYWORDS: Iranian Security, Conventional Military Balance in the Gulf, Weapons of Mass Destruction, State-sponsored Terrorism, Re-assessment of U.S. Policy

JAPAN’S CONSTITUTION, PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE:

IMPACT ON U.S. FORCE PRESENCE IN JAPAN

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Constitutional research committees in both the upper and lower houses of the Japanese Diet have begun discussing Article 9 of Japan’s constitution. Japan traditionally has interpreted this article as prohibiting collective defense, including joint military operations with U.S. forces and collective security activities like UN peacekeeping operations. These discussions respond to changes in the security environment surrounding Japan, where collective self-defense is becoming increasingly vital.

This thesis suggests that it is not a matter of if, but when Japan will revise or reinterpret its constitution to authorize Japanese forces to participate in collective defense. To support this argument, it analyzes the evolutionary process Japan has pursued since the end of the Cold War to become a “normal” country.

For Japan to become a “normal” country, it must implement significant economic and political reform. Based on this requirement this thesis evaluates the prospects for change by analyzing the internal and external forces driving Japan to revise its constitution. It then discusses various approaches and policy options Japan may pursue. It evaluates the most probable approach Japan may take and the impact such an approach may have on U.S. force structure in Japan.

Finally, this thesis presents the U.S. debate over forward basing versus forward presence to assess the approach the United States should take toward force structure in Japan. This thesis argues in favor of Japan becoming an equal partner in the U.S.-Japan alliance. It concludes with recommendations on how the United States should respond and suggests several approaches the United States should take toward Japan, arguing that it is in both the United States’ and Japan’s interest for it to assume an equitable burden sharing role in the U.S.-Japan relationship.

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (U.S. Foreign Policy)

KEYWORDS: Japan, Constitution, U.S.-Japan Alliance, Force Structure, Forward Presence, Forward Basing

THE TALIBAN AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM IN CENTRAL ASIA

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This study examines the relationship between Afghanistan's Taliban regime and Islamic opposition movements in the neighboring Central Asian republics. Despite alarming rhetoric to the contrary from Central Asian political leaders, Taliban ideology is unlikely to spread beyond Afghanistan's borders. The Taliban are an idiosyncratic phenomenon whose anachronistic ideology and violent behavior are more attributable to an obscure tribal code and the sociological repercussions of warfare than to any conventional expression of Islam. Islamic culture in the Central Asian republics was somewhat secularized by 70 years of Soviet domination. The small but growing Islamic opposition is attributable not to the appeal of Taliban-style fundamentalism, but to distinctly domestic factors such as political oppression and economic stagnation. Central Asia's authoritarian regimes are essentially causing the Islamic insurgency they seek to suppress; the Taliban are only significant to the extent that Afghanistan's instability exacerbates ongoing economic and political problems throughout the region. These findings have significant policy implications for the United States and other interested powers, which must deal more urgently with Afghanistan's instability, and should augment military support to Central Asian governments with an equal or greater emphasis on political and economic reform.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security)

KEYWORDS: Taliban, Central Asia, Islam, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Oil, Caspian, Terrorism

RUSSIA'S PLACE IN CENTRAL ASIA

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This thesis assesses the need for U.S.-Russian cooperation in Central Asia to create a stronger, more reliable long-term stability in the region. Current United States policy toward Russia in Central Asia is tailored to isolate and minimize Russian influence due, in great part to a perception that Russian "heavy-handedness" is restricting political and economic development in Central Asia. Reforming Central Asia to be less dependent on Russia has been a centerpiece of U.S. policy in the region.

This thesis provides U.S. foreign policymakers with an alternative view on Russia. This view supports a new policy that encourages a more sustainable multi-lateral approach to stability in the region and more accurately takes into account the real threats to the region. An isolated Russia in Central Asia will complicate U.S. policy in the region and provide opportunities for other regional players antagonistic to a U.S. presence.

The lack of well established nation states in Central Asia, the judgment that Russia's approach is cooperative, and a clear understanding of the intentions of other regional players bring this thesis to the conclusion that improved U.S.-Russian cooperation can only enhance stability in Central Asia.

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Command, Control and Communications

KEYWORDS: Central Asia, Russia, Russian Foreign Policy, U.S.-Russian Cooperation, Democratization, Partnership for Peace, Nation-State, Taliban, Islamic Fundamentalism, “Great Game”

THE HONEYMOON IS OVER: HUNGARY’S FIRST TWO YEARS IN NATO

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Hungary has gone through its third democratic election since the systemic changes in 1989. There is clear continuity in the foreign policy goals of the government, including Euro-Atlantic integration efforts (Hungary became a NATO member in March 1999, and is expecting to acquire accession to the European Union in the near future). The priority of building good relations with the country’s neighbors remains strong.

Hungary has gone through military reform. By the end of 1997, it had finished the quantitative phase. In the second phase, the goal is to introduce qualitative changes, including defense strategy and technological modernization of the armed forces. Another key element is to perfect full-fledged democratic and civilian control over the armed forces.

Hungary has been working on the issue of good-neighborly relations. The country has successfully mended historic ties with most of its neighbors. This reconciliation is in the interest of the countries involved, of the entire region, as well as that of Europe as a whole.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Foreign Policy)

KEYWORDS: Hungary, Security and Defense Policy, Foreign Policy, NATO Enlargement, Ethnic Minorities In Central Europe, Military Reform

STILL DIVIDED: SECURITY IN THE CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN MULTI-PACED DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS

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A few years ago it became apparent that democratization processes in East and Central Europe (ECE) were divergent; both façade and consolidated democracies emerged. There are several implications of this new dividing line in Europe; this thesis focuses on the security consequences. Why did some democratic processes become successful, and others did not? What went wrong and what are the lessons learned? Experiences learned from democratic consolidations and the preceding transition period in ECE are useful not only in the further democratization in the region, but also in other parts of the world. Nothing makes this thesis more relevant and timely than a proposed U.S. law in May 2001 to strengthen democracy in Cuba. In 1996, Hungarian members of the Parliament had secret meetings with Cuban reform leaders; more recently Czech politicians were arrested on the island. ECE has the know how to promote democracy, while the West has the will to finance it.

There are many important elements of consolidating democracies. In this thesis we find answers to such questions as why parliamentary systems are effective, why center-right governments are in a better position to democratize and stabilize, why economic conditions are vital. Case studies examine democratization processes and their security implications, because strengthening democracies has positive results on the stability of the region; all knowledge and financial resources must be used effectively in order to guarantee European stability.

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Relations)

KEYWORDS: Security, International Relations, Democratization, East and Central Europe

HYDRO-CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: WATER SCHEMES FOR A THIRSTY REGION

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In the Middle East, water is becoming a far more valuable natural resource than oil. Access to water has domestic and regional economic, political, and security implications for the Middle East. Water is likely to be the issue that sparks the next conflict in the Middle East. This thesis describes the impact of rapid population growth and urbanization, industrialization and pollution, and “self-sufficiency” agricultural policies on the water resources of the Middle East. Current capacities of water renewal and water production are not likely to be capable of supporting the future growth of the Middle East without intense planning and management. Five regions of the Middle East are currently feeling the effects of water scarcity: the Arabian Peninsula, the Euphrates-Tigris Basin, the Jordan Basin, the Maghreb, and the Nile Basin. Information is also provided about the Arabian Peninsula, particularly Saudi Arabia. Various schemes to obtain additional water resources are explored including Turkey’s proposed “Peace Pipeline,” which could supply water from Turkey to the countries of the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula. “Virtual Water” also is explored as a source of water for the Middle East.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs – Middle East)

KEYWORDS: Water, Middle East, Arabian Peninsula, Saudi Arabia, Virtual Water, Peace Pipeline

THE TAIWAN QUESTION: IDENTIFYING COMMON GROUND TO MAINTAIN STABILITY AND DEVELOP CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE

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The Taiwan Strait remains a possible flashpoint and is potentially one of the most destabilizing issues in the Asia-Pacific region. Even though People’s Republic of China (PRC), Taiwanese, and U.S. officials have put forward various policy positions on this issue, the question of Taiwan’s future remains unresolved. Finding common ground between all parties involved in the dispute requires each side to see stability and constructive dialogue as the means to a peaceful end. This peaceful solution will only come about after a long-term process of linking the two cross-strait communities by way of exchanges of goodwill and cooperation.

As the people of the PRC and Taiwan work on reconciling their differences, the United States must play a supportive, balanced role. By maintaining a posture of strategic ambiguity and a cross-strait policy built on the three communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), the United States can reduce the likelihood of future conflict while encouraging each side to develop peaceful mechanisms to resolve differences. This thesis examines the Taiwan question from the perspective of conflict resolution to develop ideas and options for policymakers that promote stability and encourage constructive cross-strait dialogue.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (U.S. Foreign Policy)

KEYWORDS: Taiwan, People’s Republic of China, United States, Cross-strait Relations, Conflict Resolution

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

CLAUSEWITZ AND THE THEORY OF MILITARY STRATEGY IN EUROPE – REFLECTIONS UPON A PARADIGM OF MILITARY STRATEGY WITHIN THE EUROPEAN COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY (ESDP)

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The purpose of the study is to reveal characteristics of the strategic cultures in Britain, France, and Germany as the major member states of the European Union (EU). Assuming that national differences can be detected, the study proceeds in assessing whether there is an opportunity to reconcile them, or even to establish a European paradigm of strategic thinking as a core element of the Common Security and Defense Policy of the EU. Based on the interpretation of Clausewitz's theory of war and strategy in Britain, France, and Germany, main commonalities and diversities in strategic thinking are discussed. Analyzing, on the international and state level, why Clausewitz has been misunderstood, this study establishes Clausewitz's theory of war and strategy as the theoretical framework of strategy-making within the EU. The fruitfulness of the Clausewitzian paradigm is shown in two areas: first, Clausewitz's theoretical approach assists in gaining an improved understanding of the political and military strategic environment of the EU; second, it provides awareness of the challenges given with multinationality as a strategic principle of the EU. Finally, Clausewitz's theory allows institutional and educational consequences to be drawn.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Command, Control and Communications, Manpower, Personnel, and Training, Materials, Processes, and Structures

KEYWORDS: European Union, Common Security and Defense Policy, Clausewitz, Strategy, Strategic Culture, Liddell Hart, Fuller, Multinationality

POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY IN HAITI

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A nation attains democratic consolidation when democratic ideals become permanently established within its society. An institutionalized political party system is a prerequisite for democratic consolidation and is based on stable rules of interparty competition, parties with stable social roots, and party organizations independent of individuals' ambitions. Additionally, all actors must accord legitimacy to a party system in order for it to be institutionalized.

This thesis focuses on the political party system in Haiti and how its lack of institutionalization has undermined the consolidation of democracy. It also examines the factors that are responsible for this lack of development. Such factors include the actions of Haitian elites, lack of social organization, and a lack of party development during the earliest stages of state building.

The impact of United States foreign policies upon this nation's party system are examined in order to discover which policies have assisted party system institutionalization and which have hindered its development. While the entirety of Haitian political history is reviewed, an emphasis is placed upon United States policy since the 1991 ouster of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In conclusion, this thesis recommends future United States policies designed to assist in the institutionalization of Haiti's political party system.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (U.S. Foreign Policy Haiti)

KEYWORDS: Haiti, Political System, Political Party System

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

IMPORTANCE OF UNITED STATES NAVAL FORWARD PRESENCE IN MEDITERRANEAN AFFAIRS

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This thesis describes the benefits of maintaining United States Naval Forward Presence in the Mediterranean. It encompasses several themes to justify its point of view. It argues that the Mediterranean has been important to the United States for over 200 years. It describes the significant United States political and economic interests in the region. As the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) strongest member, the United States has a vested interest to ensure that the Mediterranean remains open and accessible.

Geographically the "Middle Sea" is an essential link between the Atlantic, the Persian Gulf and beyond. It forms a bridge across which three continents interact. But the Mediterranean's geographic configuration and complex political environment also makes it an operational challenge. Finally, the complexities and acrimony of Mediterranean politics calls for the United States Navy to support a variety of missions from "stability and support" to "small-scale contingencies" (SSCs) or potentially more conventional operations. However, the political, economic and geographic characteristics of the Mediterranean make it very difficult for military forces to operate there.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Command, Control and Communications, Conventional Weapons
Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Naval Forward Presence, NATO, Mediterranean Sea, Barbary Wars, World War II, Middle East, Arab/Israeli Wars, Libya, Lebanon, Bosnia, Kosovo, Balkans, Pilot Rescue, Reconnaissance, Tomahawk Missile Attacks, Amphibious Intervention, Armed Intervention, Cooperative Engagement Capability

UKRAINIAN NAVAL REFORM: REQUIRED FOR SURVIVAL

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This thesis examines the transition of the Ukrainian Navy from the Soviet Union Black Sea Fleet (BSF) to a national navy and its need for reform to survive. The settlement of the BSF revolved around three central issues: the division of BSF assets; basing rights; and sovereignty in the Crimea. Ukraine's navy must evolve from an obsolete Cold War force to a regional navy capable of protecting its national interests. Stability in the Black Sea region is critical to Ukraine and centers on four issues: a resurgent Russian Federation; Turkish dominance; Caspian Sea oil; and political and military instability. The thesis analyzes the Ukrainian Navy via a "Top-down" method of force planning utilizing a T-matrix model. This produced three areas of required reform: establishment of military functions; allocation of resources; development of a regional navy. The problems facing reform in Ukraine are military development, domestic political will, and economic issues. These problems make reform difficult. For Ukraine to survive, it must implement reform through a combination of governmental action and continued reliance on outside assistance through North Atlantic Treaty Organization/ Partnership for Peace and the United States.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (United States Foreign Policy)

KEYWORDS: Ukraine, Russia, Turkey, Caspian Sea, Black Sea Fleet, Sevastopol, Crimea, Navy, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Partnership for Peace

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

FUTURE INDONESIA-EAST TIMOR RELATIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE REGIONAL SECURITY PRACTICES IN THE COLD WAR AND AFTER

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This thesis describes the history of Indonesia and East Timor as former colonial states. Indonesian leaders believed that East Timor was part of Indonesia's pre-colonial family and legacy, but East Timorese were more influenced by the Portuguese' 450 years colonialism. In 1975, the Government of Indonesia launched a military intervention and occupied East Timor. In the Cold-War era, having feared that the communist movement had infiltrated East Timor, the United States and its allies thus supported Indonesian military intervention in East Timor. The reaction of the international community was to condemn the Indonesian military intervention of East Timor. Indonesia always received some support from year to year in United Nations' resolutions.

This study examines the different views of major countries in the East Timor case during the Cold War and its aftermath. The situation in East Timor changed dramatically after the Cold War ended. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as a mature organization, will continue to play a critical role in the future of East Timor. This thesis concludes by exploring the ASEAN role in rebuilding East Timor both politically and economically.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Relations)

KEYWORDS: Indonesia, East Timor, Bilateral, Regional-ASEAN.

POST-COLD WAR RUSSIAN/WEST RELATIONS: U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES, SOURCES OF FRICTION, AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

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This study analyzes U.S. foreign policy initiatives toward Russia between 1993-2000. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the West found itself in a period of global transition during which they had an opportunity to redefine the post-Cold War security arena and secure enduring peace and cooperation between historically adversarial blocs. The key to creating this system was immediate, full-fledged Russian inclusion. Yet due to remaining Cold War-biases and misaligned U.S. policies, Russia has become alienated from the West. Russia's newfound isolation is the result of an evolving process that has begun to destabilize global security. The failure of structurally and financially inadequate economic reforms led to Russia's catastrophic 1998 market crash, provided Russians with a scapegoat, and helped silence reformers. The expansion of NATO showed Russia that it had no part in the West's newly envisioned security system. Furthermore, the Kosovo campaign nullified Russia's UN veto and consequent global influence, armed NATO's threatening encroachment, and bolstered a Russian, anti-Western body politic.

Consequently, the West must reassess its current stance and set Russian inclusion as its first priority, for history suggests that without Russia, there is can be no stability in Europe.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGICAL AREA: Other (Russia/West Relations)

KEY WORDS: Russia, Soviet Union, NATO, Military Doctrine, Security Policy, Post-Cold War, Security Arena, National Missile Defense, Expansion, Economic Reform, Kosovo Campaign, Nuclear First-Use, Limited Nuclear War

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

DEFINING AND COPING WITH WICKED PROBLEMS:

THE CASE OF FORT ORD BUILDING REMOVAL

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Globalization and interdependencies have given rise to a new type of problem—some call them “wicked.” Wicked problems are confounding experts in many disciplines of study. They are inherent to policy and strategic planning issues in civilian and military settings. The traditional, linear methods of problem solving are inadequate to address the complexity of wicked problems, and thus require new methods of problem solving. This thesis begins with a review of the definitions of wicked problems and strategies for coping with them found in academic literature.

In order to demonstrate the utility of these concepts to a military audience, the building removal aspect of the Fort Ord base closure is utilized as an illustration of a wicked problem. The thesis first identifies the characteristics of a wicked problem in the Fort Ord case, and then proposes a strategy for coping with Fort Ord building removal. The Fort Ord example is not unique within the Department of Defense, and lessons learned from this illustration are applicable not only to other closed bases and to future rounds of base closure, but also to other issues marked by complexity and interdependence.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Environmental Quality, Manpower, Personnel, and Training

KEYWORDS: Wicked Problems, Problem Solving, Coping Strategy, Fort Ord, Base Closure, Base Reutilization, Base Reuse, Base Realignment and Closure, Building Demolition, Building Deconstruction, Building Remediation, Hazardous Materials, Lead Based Paint, Asbestos, Strategic Planning, Decision-Making, Leadership

END OF THE ISLAMIC COLD WAR: THE SAUDI-IRANIAN

DÉTENTE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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Saudi Arabia and Iran are not only reconciling their diplomatic differences, but are also cooperating in numerous areas including oil, trade, and domestic security. Given their differences, what forces are lessening tensions and motivating them to pursue this new détente? More importantly, what are the implications of this new relationship?

Shifting political sands in Saudi Arabia and Iran in the late 90s, the failure of the US “Dual Containment” policy, and the collapse of the Middle East Peace Accords are bringing the two rivals together. It is, however, Saudi Arabia and Iran’s dire economic conditions, worsened by the 1998-99 oil price collapse, that forces them to cooperate. The main vehicle for Saudi-Iranian cooperation is the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

The Saudi-Iranian détente holds vast implications for oil and stability in the region. Their cooperation ensures higher oil prices, which adversely affect the world economy. These higher prices, however, salvage both countries’ economies, improving their domestic stability. The reemergence of Iran onto the Gulf political landscape also serves to lessen tensions in the region. The resulting improvement in inter-Gulf

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relations creates possibilities for establishing a stable regional security framework that may affect the United States' role in the region.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Relations)

KEYWORDS: Saudi Arabia, Iran, Oil, Economics, Stability, OPEC, Persian Gulf, Dual Containment, Middle East Peace, President Khatami, Crown Prince Abdullah

THE BALTIC REPUBLICS: PRIORITIES FOR WESTERN INTEGRATION

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This thesis explores the growing realization that the Baltic republics are not the same, and should not be treated as a single regional bloc. At the same time, merely realizing the existence of different priorities for integration with the West is not enough. The time is fast approaching when Western European institutions will offer the three Baltic republics the opportunity for full membership. Despite this approaching deadline, important questions remain unanswered. This thesis answers these questions by examining the policies enacted by the Baltic republics since 1995 to further their goal of integration with the West.

This thesis focuses on policies and decisions regarding the European Union and NATO, since these are the most important Western European institutions. This thesis will identify the priorities that each of the Baltic republics has established for integration and trace important changes in these policies over the course of the decade. In the final analysis, an assessment will be made of possibilities for integration of each republic based on these priorities, and what integration might mean for Europe.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (European Integration)

KEYWORDS: Baltic Republics, Baltic States, Enlargement, Accession, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, European Union, NATO

RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC WARFARE; THE KOSOVO CASE

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This study focuses on the politics and society of Kosovo from the 12th century until the recent past. It interprets the history of Kosovo in South-Eastern Europe and analyzes the roots of the 20th century conflict. Furthermore, the thesis describes how the Kosovo issues influenced neighboring countries and the implications for European security. Finally, the thesis reflects on the possible future of Kosovo.

Two major conflicts that developed in the Balkan area (Bosnia/Kosovo, 1992-1999) raised the question about the stability of the zone. The thesis describes the security risks and challenges to the Balkan area and the prospects for solving these problems.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Ethnic and Religious Warfare)

KEYWORDS: Kosovo, Ethnic and Religious Warfare, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Balkans, Former Yugoslavia, Albania, Ethno-Nationalism

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GERMANY'S INTERESTS AND POLICY IN AND TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ARAB – ISRAELI CONFLICT

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Over the years Bonn and Berlin's policy and decision-makers adopted a pragmatic multilateral attitude that serves Germany's interests best. Today, Germany executes the concept of a civilian power. Supranationalism and institutional cooperation, followed by integration are the key ideas to formulate and represent power and national interests.

As one of the largest industrial and trading nations, Germany is dependent upon a stable and well-functioning economic system that is committed to free trade relying largely on imported raw materials and energy – i.e. low-cost oil from the Middle East.

In this context, German politics has an interesting and unique position. Germany's policy in the Middle East is somewhat ambiguous. The Federal Republic's dependency on oil inclines Germany toward the Arab states. The second factor is the historical moral burden bequeathed by the Third Reich that tends to tilt German diplomacy toward Israel. Germany's dilemma is its polarized Middle Eastern policy; German leadership carefully maintains a political neutral position keeping the country's economic interests in mind, along with considerations of an evenhanded approach toward the Middle East.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International)

KEYWORDS: German Multilateral Foreign Policy in the Middle East, Civilian Power with Economic Interests, Moral Obligation to the State of Israel

EXPANDING THE ROK NAVY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.-ROK ALLIANCE

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Stability on the Korean peninsula is a goal for several countries. The Republic of Korea (ROK) has depended on the United States to maintain stability on the Korean peninsula, but realizes its greater independence from a long time ally may be inevitable, especially after reunification. Measures now required afford the ROK every opportunity to provide for its own security and stability, including the need for modernizing the ROK Navy (ROKN). Present and future South Korean naval commitments to regional and international maritime environments support the transition from a brown water navy to a blue water navy capable of meeting future challenges. The ROK intends to achieve a naval force capable of projecting power, carrying out its strategic objectives, and ultimately guaranteeing vital defense for ROK sea lanes of communications.

The Korean peninsula borders on the East Sea and the West Sea, dictating an overwhelming need for a capable and efficient maritime force to protect the lifblood of the Republic of Korea. Currently, the ROKN cannot compete with or against large modern navies, ones capable of conducting sustained naval operations while concurrently maintaining various platforms assigned numerous tasks. The ROKN's opportunity is ripe to expand its existing force into a modern blue water navy.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Surface/Under Surface Vehicles – Ships and Watercraft

KEYWORDS: Republic of Korea (ROK), U.S.-ROK Security Cooperation, Maritime Alliance, Sea Lanes of Communications (Slocs), Korean Unification, U.S.-ROK Relations, International Security

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

OMNIBALANCING AND THE HOUSE OF SAUD

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Whether it is Egypt, Yemen, Iran or Iraq, when it comes to threats facing the House of Saud, the popular media has focused almost exclusively on external factors. Yet, the greatest threat facing the House of Saud is not one of foreign aggression but one of domestic opposition.

This thesis contends that the House of Saud has maintained control of Saudi Arabia by relying on three distinct pillars (or power facilitators): first, aligning itself with a strong and reliable outside power, second, preventing opposition groups from gaining a significant following by controlling informal networks within Saudi Arabia, and third, creating a *rentier state* making its citizens dependent on the government largesse. Furthermore, this thesis contends that the House of Saud will have increasing difficulties controlling its informal networks, and that its *rentier policies* are utterly flawed and unsustainable.

The purpose of this thesis is to scrutinize Saudi Arabia in order to determine the future viability of the House of Saud in light of the numerous political, social, religious and economic challenges that it now faces. The House of Saud is analyzed through the lens of omnibalancing which this thesis argues best describes the House of Saud's propensities.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Saudi Arabia, Rentier State, Oil, Social Contract, Demographics, Succession, Islam, Education, Labor, Unemployment, Political Reform, Economic Reform, Legal Reform, Privatization, Saudiization, World Trade Organization, United States, Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Gulf Cooperation Council

DEMOCRATIZATION, ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE, AND SECURITY COOPERATION BETWEEN ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, AND CHILE

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This thesis analyzes the progress in inter-state security cooperation among Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (ABC) since 1983 as a consequence of these states' political democratization, economic liberalization, and sub-regional integration. The causal role of each of these variables has varied over time. Argentina's political democratization in 1983, followed by democratic transitions in Brazil in 1985 and Chile in 1990, ushered in security cooperation, ending a century-long phase of interstate rivalry and conflict management regimes. Economic liberalization adopted by the ABC countries from 1990 led, for the first time in the countries' history, to growing levels of economic, societal, and political interdependence. This changed the countries' mutual threat perceptions and created incentives for largely bilateral conflict prevention regimes. This shift, together with the creation of Mercosur's customs union in 1995, opened a more advanced phase featuring sub-regional multilateral collective action in the security realm. Further advances will mostly depend on Mercosur's still unclear consolidation. Integration and security cooperation has been a deliberate state strategy during the 1990s, strengthening the ABC countries' capacity for domestic and international governance. The thesis concludes by asserting the need for more integrated theoretical frameworks able to articulate different levels of analysis and variations in causality.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security)

KEYWORDS: International Security, International Relations, Foreign Policy, Integration, Latin America, Argentina, Brazil, Chile

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

PALESTINIAN REFUGEES AND THE REGIONAL SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF THE PEACE PROCESS

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This thesis focuses on the status of Palestinian refugees following final peace negotiations. The major conclusions of the thesis are that basic Palestinian refugee rights are not likely to be honored given the immense imbalance of power between Israel and the PLO; that the Palestinian refugee community will likely become a permanently marginalized outcast group in the Middle East; and that the probable result of this condition will be an increase in Palestinian political violence and terrorism against Israeli, American, and allied Arab interests. This is likely to be achieved through mobilization of former refugees by Islamic fundamentalist groups, capitalizing on the failure of the nationalist peace effort. These conclusions are reached through a close examination of the specific Palestinian refugee question and applying a general model of ethnonationalist collective action to the Palestinian question. The major policy conclusion for the United States is that to protect its own interests in the Middle East and reduce violence, the United States must treat seriously the rights of Palestinian refugees during regional peace negotiations. American and Israeli interests on this key issue are clearly divergent; they should be recognized as such and treated accordingly.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security)

KEYWORDS: Palestine, Palestinian, Refugees, Peace Process, Oslo, Israel, Terrorism, Islamist, Islamic Fundamentalist, Ethnonationalist

RUSSIA'S SUBMARINE FORCE: DETERMINANTS AND PROSPECTS

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This thesis analyzes the factors likely to shape the future of the Russian submarine force. It examines key events affecting this force since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and explores the determinants of these events. The Russian Federation inherited a huge submarine fleet from the Soviet Union. Due to the changing conditions in the world and in Russia, its future status is in doubt. The thesis begins by analyzing the development and roles of the Soviet submarine force. It then considers the four most significant factors that have affected the submarine force since 1991: 1) Russia's poor economic performance, 2) Russia's changing national security requirements, 3) competition from the other military services for a limited defense budget, and 4) changes within the military and society. The thesis concludes that the Russian submarine force is unlikely to undergo a major revival. The most probable scenario involves a smaller and less capable force. The most influential factors may be Russia's economic performance and the military reform plans of Russian President Vladimir Putin and Defense Minister Sergey Ivanov.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Navy, Nuclear Deterrence, Nuclear Weapons, Russia, SSBN, Submarine, Weapons of Mass Destruction

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

EVOLUTION OF RUSSIA-NATO RELATIONS IN THE 1990s

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The end of the Cold War was followed by a period of euphoric romanticism in Russia over its future relationship with Europe and the United States. Russians enthusiastically embraced the end of hostility and were looking forward to be accepted on equal terms in Europe. The situation changed when the country failed to utilize peace dividends and the economy suffered a serious breakdown.

The Russian political elite expressed concerns that this policy was the Euro-Atlantic community's attempt to underscore the dimension of Russian humiliation and to further limit Russian influence in the international arena. Russia adamantly opposed NATO advancement to the territory of the former USSR; by exploiting this hard stance Moscow, indeed, provided NATO aspirants with arguments to join the Alliance.

There is a tendency in Russia to view its relationship with NATO through the prism of the U.S. dominant role in the Alliance. This perception explains why Moscow tries to assert its position by focusing on a big power dialogue. Russian leaders attitudes toward NATO enlargement are strongly tied to their estimates of the strength of the country and their influence in the international arena.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security)

KEYWORDS: NATO, Russia, Enlargement, Perceptions, Security

NUCLEAR WEAPONS ACCIDENTS AND ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR WAR: IS PAKISTAN AT RISK?

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Can new nuclear states to build nuclear deterrent forces that are safe, secure, and reliable? Deterrence pessimists claim that lack of experience, material resource constraints, and organizational problems can lead to nuclear weapons accidents with catastrophic outcomes, including accidental nuclear war. This perspective also believes that military organizations in control of nuclear weapons will favor command and control systems that allow their immediate use. Pakistan is cited as particularly worrisome because of its inexperience with nuclear weapons and its unstable civil-military relations. This thesis establishes a framework based on normal accidents theory, high reliability theory, and the U.S. experience with nuclear weapons accidents to evaluate Pakistan's risk of suffering nuclear weapons accidents and whether these accidents can lead to accidental nuclear war. Using data from classified U.S. intelligence community assessments, this thesis suggests Pakistan's risk of suffering a catastrophic nuclear weapons accident that leads to accidental nuclear war is moderate to low.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Weapons of Mass Destruction)

KEYWORDS: Nuclear Proliferation, Nuclear War, Nuclear Weapons Accidents, Pakistan

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

A CHANGING EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE ARCHITECTURE AND ITS IMPACT ON TURKEY

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Since the 1991 Maastricht Treaty, the European Union countries have been trying to form a common security and defense identity as one facet of the European Union unification process. The efforts to create “separable but not separate” European forces within NATO have accelerated in the last three years and changed direction toward creating an autonomous “European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)” within the framework of the EU. This policy concerns some non-EU European NATO allies, such as Turkey, and Norway, as well as non-European NATO allies, such as the United States and Canada.

The developments in the European security structure in the aftermath of the French-British St. Malo Declaration (1998) have profoundly changed the discussion of an all-European force. The ESDP is an evolving process. The impact of the latest developments on Turkey’s position in the European security system and Turkey’s security policies is significant. Turkish national security interests compel it to be part of a new European security system and of security arrangements in the post-Cold War era. Turkey should have some institutional links to European Security and Defense Policy that would enable it to influence the decisions of its European counterparts on the matters that could affect Turkey’s interests. European security cannot be provided without Turkey. How Turkey will fit into the new European security system will depend on its European membership process, its unique geostrategic position and its special relationship with the United States.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (European Security)

KEYWORDS: Turkey, European Security, ESDP, CEFSP, CFSP, ESDI, European Union, Turkey-EU Relations, US-EU Relations

TURKEY AND THE MIDDLE EAST: THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

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The end of the Cold War and the Second Gulf War affected the Middle East profoundly. The role of regional countries changed when the end of the superpower competition transformed frozen animosities into new conflict areas. In this context, Turkey extremely involved in regional politics.

During the 1989-2000 period Turkey’s policy toward the Middle East in general centered on security issues while Turkey encouraged regional cooperation simultaneously. PKK terrorism and the prospect of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq have been the forefront issues in Ankara’s agenda.

Ankara followed an active policy in the region to counter the regional threats to Turkey, to recover its declining image in the West, and to improve its economy through regional opportunities.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Turkey, Middle East, Iraq, Northern Iraq, Kurds, PKK, Terrorism, Syria, Water Problem, GAP, Israel, Strategic Cooperation, Iran, Islamic Fundamentalism

